# THE JAPAN MISSION

of the

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

AND

THE PROTESTANT MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN JAPAN

Pam
Japan

# THE JAPAN MISSION
# of the
# PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
# and
# THE PROTESTANT MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN JAPAN

Probably few mission fields in the world present as many complications as are to be found in Japan, and this is true not only now but it has been the case from the beginning. In order to understand the present some knowledge of the past that has made the present is necessary. My purpose is to present as briefly as possible a fairly comprehensive picture of the total complex with which we are confronted in our work in Japan today. In doing so I shall necessarily say some things that may appear to charge some persons and organizations with grave error. My intention in such cases is not to press charges but simply to give facts that are essential parts of the total picture. Although I do not have many documents or other sources before me here on the ship as I write, I can submit proof if required for all that I write. The only exceptions are where I record matters that I know first-hand, but have no other witness to confirm my statement. I am sorry that I cannot always give exact dates in this paper, but these too can be supplied later if desired. In order to save space I shall often use abbreviations for some proper names. The list appended to this paper will identify them.

## I. THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSIONARY PERIOD - 1859-1941

The first group of Protestant missionaries entered Japan in 1859 and 1860. They found a nation just beginning to emerge from a totalitarian regime in which there was no freedom of religion and almost no other freedoms for the common people. That totalitarian system, as well as the exclusion of all foreigners except a handful of Dutchmen each year from entering the country, was actually the product of the Shogunate's determination that Christianity, which had once had perhaps 300,000 adherents in a population of 20,000,000 (as against perhaps 400,000 in a population of 85,000,000 today) and had threatened the Shogun's power, should be exterminated and never allowed to enter the country again. Not until 1873 were the notice-boards prescribing the death penalty for being a Christian taken down, and even the new law passed then did not lessen the penalty - though it was not enforced. In spite of this, before 1872 ten persons had been baptized, and with the baptism of nine in that year the first Protestant church in Japan was organized in Yokohama.

As the years went by more freedom was given, and increasing knowledge of the Occident decided the leaders of Japan to make over the state along modern lines. Such official recommendation of all that came from the West released the characteristic desire of the Japanese for knowledge of all kinds, and people began to flock to hear Christianity. A translation of the New Testament was completed in 1882, and of the Old Testament in 1887. In 1882 there were 95 churches with more than 5000 members. In 1885, when the first Southern Presbyterian missionaries arrived, there were 115 churches with over 9,000 members. In 1888 there were 206 churches with over 23,000 members; and in 1891, 297 churches and over 31,000 members.

A new Constitution was promulgated in 1889, and Japan's advance toward modern nationhood was acclaimed abroad. Self-satisfaction was the result in Japan, and with it came increased desire to find a place in the Far East and in the world that would satisfy her growing ambition. A corollary to this was a reaction against things Western. Victory over China in 1895 and the acquisition of Formosa, also the abolition of extra-territoriality in 1899, increased this reaction. During this decade many who had entered the church with a motive of some sort of personal advantage fell away. The stand taken about 1895 (?) by Mr. Kanzo Uchimura against the claim of the Emperor's divinity made many think twice before deciding to become

not acc

Christians; and in the church, with the issue definitely raised, a strong movement for compromise began to grow. About the beginning of this decade, too, radical liberalism was introduced into the Japanese church. These last two matters will be discussed more fully later.

In 1900 the growing respect for Japan among the Western nations was further increased by the remarkable discipline and orderliness of the Japanese troops, which were in marked contrast to the looting and other excesses of which the occidental troops were too often guilty in the action against the Boxer uprising. On the heels of this came victory over Russia in 1905, and Japan had arrived! Her taking over Korea a few years later without serious opposition by the West did not lessen her exultant self-satisfaction. During these days, though there was increasing emphasis on the national Imperial Line cult of Shinto, the church was accommodating itself to it. Japan, in the eyes of the Japanese themselves, was at least the equal of Western nations, superior to at least one of them, and actually superior to all because of her heritage as the Land of the Gods, ruled by a Divine Emperor. There was really nothing to fear from Christianity though it had been an enemy of Japan in the distant past, because Japan was inherently superior to anything in it that might possibly be against Japan's claims. So it is not surprising to see that in 1913 statistics for the Protestant churches showed 857 churches and almost 103,000 members - a gain of more than 100% in churches and 180% in membership in thirteen years.

The Elizabethan period of Japan was well under way. Her people were migrating to Japan's new territories and other lands. The development of Japan and the territories she controlled opened new worlds before her young men. There was friction with the United States over immigration restrictions and other discrimination, and more than once serious talk of war with the United States. But Japan's place in the world was becoming more secure than ever, with a share in the spoils of World War I, and a prominent place in the League of Nations. She took part in the international arms limitation agreements, and many thought Japan's militarism was a thing of the past. Several of her formerly highly popular private military academies had to close because young men were increasingly loath to choose military careers. The Protestant church grew, and in 1930 had 2150 churches and 173,000 members, a gain of 150% in churches and 70% in members in seventeen years. This indicated a wider distribution over the country, but a diminishing rate of increase. During this period the number of missionaries reached its pre-war peak. I do not have the number at the highest point, but in 1930, after it had passed 1198 were reported.

During the twenties a communist movement of considerable strength had appeared in Japan, particularly among university students, school teachers and farmers in a very few prefectures, and laborers. This was put down ruthlessly by imprisonment and torture. Although these things were not published they were generally known, and there was much restlessness among the young men. The government had heretofore kept control of public morals by prohibiting gambling and allowing only licensed prostitution. Now, to distract young people's minds from their grievances they began to allow dance halls and "cafes" where dancing, drinking and unlicensed prostitution thrived, and mah-jong parlors were to be seen everywhere. I recall that the "Charleston" was once the rage in the dance halls. America was drawn upon for lessons in dissipation. A new laxity in morals (different from the immoralities long condoned in Japanese society) was brought in, dangerous because it involved departure from a hitherto accepted code.

The decade of the thirties began with these excesses growing and encouraged. But the militarists, who had never actually been out of power, determined that the cure for the evils in Japan lay in bringing the nation to full consciousness of its divine mission in the world to make all nations recognize the claim of Shinto that the Emperor of Japan alone was divinely qualified to rule. So, as a beginning, in order to gain full control over Manchuria the "Manchurian Incident" was staged, resulting in Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations. She judged that she no

longer needed the good will or approval of the West in order to maintain her position. She was indeed self-sufficient and able to chart her course alone. This was really the turning point of Japan's destiny. From then on military arrogance took full control. The Young Officers' Insurrection, making the Emperor virtually their prisoner, took place on February 26, 1936. The Japanese army was interfering more and more in China, and in July, 1937, the "Marco Polo Bridge Incident" was engineered, followed by military invasion, destruction and exploitation in China. As the "China Incident" continued and Japan became more and more entangled in the European situation encouragements to dissipation were curtailed at home, and the people were subjected more and more to regimentation and austerity. The martial sports of old Japan were encouraged and Western sports such as baseball discouraged. The police campaigned against women's "permanent waves" and all other borrowing from the effete West. The Spartan discipline of feudalism was enforced on the whole of society.

Along with this came the enforcement of ceremonies connected with the state cult. During the first decade of the century the government had begun to require official visits to shrines by teachers and pupils in government schools, gradually extending the practice to others without actually ordering it. In the late thirties the pressure was increased, until practically all schools had conformed, including Christian schools. In 1936 the government had announced the death of the Emperor Taisho, father of the present emperor, as of December 25 although it is widely believed and almost certain that death had come some days before. The only imaginable purpose in this action was to give the authorities control over Christmas Day, which was being more and more widely celebrated and coming to rival the ancient New Year celebration which was closely tied up with state ceremonies. In the late thirties instrumental music and singing were forbidden on December 25, so that in effect respect to a deceased emperor was put above a Christian celebration. About this time it was also ordered that every public meeting should be opened by the whole assembly bowing toward the imperial palace, officially interpreted to include obeisance toward the shrine of the sun-goddess. Nearly all Christian congregations conformed. Besides all this, in some districts the military police took it upon themselves to call in Christian ministers for questioning as to the relative greatness of Christ and the emperor of Japan, and similar matters. Formulation of the Religious Bodies Law was going on at this time. The application of this law resulted in the union of practically all Protestant denominations in 1941, government pressure overcoming the misgivings and opposition of the many, probably a good majority. This united church is popularly known as the Kyodan. Its full name is Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan, usually translated Church of Christ in Japan (but not to be confused with the Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai (NKK) translated the same way - of which more later).

Pressure by the government against missionaries, especially against any missionary control of Japanese churches, was begun in 1940. In most denominations missionaries held no position at all, but the Salvation Army was part of the world organization with headquarters in London, with some missionary officers in Japan. This body was investigated and reorganized as an indigenous body with no foreign connections, with a new name. Next to be attacked was the Episcopal Church, which had several missionary bishops. One English bishop was imprisoned for several months. The prayer, "God save the emperor", was exscinded from the prayer book. In most Christian schools missionaries were prohibited from teaching "thought subjects," and pressures that made it difficult or impossible for missionaries to work were applied in most places. More and more left the country, and when the war broke out only about 125 were left.

The latest statistics I have for the church before the war were published in 1940. They give the number of churches as 1969 and of Christians as 218,591. Note that the churches had decreased nearly 9% in number and the members increased only 26% during this decade.

A rather unique company of people, for which there are no statistics, must be mentioned. Mr. Kanzo Uchimura, famous for his stand against deification of the

emperor, early in his career broke with denominational Christianity, opposing any external organization of the Church which he insisted was purely spiritual. He conducted a famous Sunday morning Bible class, conducting it in a large hall and charging admission. There was always a waiting list to enter the class. A sort of Bible study union grew out of this, which has spread all over Japan. It publishes a Bible study magazine, which together with commentaries and other books by Mr. Uchimura and later leaders of the group are used as helps in Bible study. Many in this group are highly educated men, among them the present president of what was the Imperial University in Tokyo, and his predecessor. Mr. Uchimura, though strongly nationalistic was something of a pacifist, and these characteristics remain in the group. There are said to be from 50,000 to 100,000 in it. They must be increasingly reckoned with. In giving the number of Christians now as about 400,000 at the beginning of this paper I included this group at the lower figure and also the Roman and Greek Catholics. I neglected to name among the characteristics of this Churchless Group their having no membership rolls and their not observing either of the sacraments.

The foregoing is a general review of the salient events and conditions from the beginning of Protestant work in Japan up to Japan's entrance into World War II. During this 80 year period close to 40 Protestant denominations were established. The largest were the Presbyterian-Reformed church called the Church of Christ in Japan with about 55,000 members, the Methodist Church with 43,000, the Congregationalist Church with 33,000, and the Episcopal Church with 28,000. The others ranged from 13,000 members down to one or two with about 150. The number of missions was larger, about 45, because early in their existence the Japanese churches founded by missions representing churches of similar or related backgrounds had united. Presbyterian and Reformed missions worked with the Church of Christ in Japan, several Methodist missions, even before the union of their churches in America, worked with the Japanese Methodist Church, and the Church of England, Canadian and America Episcopal missions with the Japanese Episcopal Church.

In the line of general cooperative movements is the Federation of Christian Missions, founded in 1900, to which our Mission together with practically all of the missions working Japan belonged. It met annually and dealt with matters of general interest to all, such as comity in regard to fields of work, the publication of a yearbook, the production and distribution of Christian literature, and at times the planning of cooperative evangelistic effort. In 1911 a Federation of Christian Churches was formed. It was superseded in 1924 by the National Christian Council (NCC), to which all except one or two tiny denominations belonged. Most missions became associate members, but ours did not. This Council took over the Christian Literature Society which had been maintained through the Federation of Christian Missions, and also all matters of cooperative action. The Federation was made one of the missionaries as individuals, though its personnel did not change, and its name was changed to the Federation of Christian Missionaries. It continued to publish the yearbook, but its meetings were devoted to matters of common interest and inspirational addresses.

The first Protestant Church, organized in 1872, was the result of the work of the mission of the Reformed Church in America (RCA) commonly called the Dutch Reformed Church. In 1877 the two churches founded by this mission and the three churches of the presbytery set up by the mission of the Presbyterian Church in United States of America (PCUSA) were united to form the United Church of Christ in Japan, with 623 members, 12 ordained missionaries and 8 elders. At this meeting 3 Japanese were ordained as ministers, and there were at the time 25 men studying for the ministry. As a means of mutual cooperation the missions of the RCA, PCUSA and the United Church of Scotland organized the Council of Three Missions, which was joined in 1885 by the mission of the Reformed Church in the United States (RCUS), popularly known as the German Reformed Church (since union with the Evangelical Church it is known as the Evangelical and Reformed Church - ERC). Our Mission, which entered Japan in

1885, joined this body in 1886. Another mission that joined it was the Woman's Union Missionary Society of America, but the Scotch mission later gave up its work in Japan. The name of the organization was later changed to the Council of Missions Cooperating with the Church of Christ in Japan. This body was dissolved in 1920 and no organization of similar function has succeeded it.

In 1887 a movement was begun to unite the United Church of Christ in Japan with the Congregational Church. In 1889 the former voted for the union but the Congregational Church declined to unite. The United Church of Christ, which had had the Westminster Confession, the Canons of the Synod of Dort, and the Westminster and Heidelberg Catechisms as its standards, agreed to accept for the proposed new united church the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds and the Nine Articles of the Evangelical Alliances. In 1890, however, it adopted the following creed: (At the same time its name was changed to Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai (NKK), translated the Church of Christ in Japan).

> "The Lord Jesus Christ, Whom we worship as God, the only begotten Son of God, for us men and for our salvation was made man and suffered. He offered up a perfect sacrifice for sin; and all who are one with Him by faith are pardoned and accounted righteous; and faith in Him working by love purifies the heart.
> "The Holy Ghost, Who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified, reveals Jesus Christ to the soul; and without His grace man being dead in sin cannot enter the Kingdom of God. By Him the Prophets and Apostles and holy men of old were inspired; and He speaking in the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament is the supreme and infallible judge of all things pertaining unto faith and living.
> "From these Holy Scriptures the ancient Church of Christ drew its confession; and we, holding the faith once delivered to the saints, join in that confession with praise and thanksgiving." (Here follows the Apostles' Creed.) (The translation of the NKK Confession just given is, I believe, one approved by that church. I have quoted it from an article by Dr. William Imbrie, of the PCUSA mission who is supposed to have had much to do with drawing it up in the first place.)

The fields of the missions cooperating with the NKK were clearly defined, and consequently its presbyteries took their tone largely from the missions working in them. Tokyo Presbytery, which dominated the church, had both PCUSA and RCA missionaries working in it. All of our field lay in Naniwa Presbytery, which was nearly as large and sometimes threatened Tokyo Presbytery's power. PCUSA missionaries also worked in a different part of Naniwa Presbytery.

Although the NKK gave up the Reformed standards in 1890 it remained basically Reformed in doctrine both because the missionaries working in it were of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches and because the theological seminaries supplying its ministers had the same background. Before our Mission entered the work the PCUSA mission had started a theological seminary in connection with its men's school, the Meiji Gakuin, in Tokyo. The RCA mission early began to cooperate with them in it, and this mission also conducted a theological seminary at Nagasaki, in the southwest. The RCUS mission opened a seminary in Sendai in northern Japan, in 1887. Our Mission saw no occasion to start a fourth seminary, but decided to cooperate with the school in Nagasaki, sending Rev. R. B. Grinnan to teach there. The institution was closed in 1897, and a few years later we began to cooperate with the Meiji Gakuin seminary in Tokyo, Rev. S. P. Fulton becoming a professor there.

The use of W. N. Clarke's Outlines of Theology as the textbook in systematic theology at the Meiji Gakuin became an issue on account of the view of the Atonement set forth in it. This matter was carried to the missions and boards concerned, and - if I remember correctly - to the General Assembly of our Church. The result was that we withdrew from the Meiji Gakuin and in 1907 established our own seminary in

Kobe, which continued until the outbreak of war in December, 1941. In an article published in the Messenger of the Presbyterian and Reformed Missions in Japan for December, 1916, Rev. R. W. Myers, who had been teaching in the seminary since a year or two after its opening, said:

> "What has the school accomplished in the nine years of its existence? First, we have supplied four self-supporting churches (i.e., churches no longer connected with the Mission.-WAM) with pastors. There is a dearth of pastors able to build up and hold together churches in Japan. Second, the school has supplied all our fields with trained workers. Formerly we were obliged to take untrained or half-trained men, and some of our important fields were left vacant because we had no workers available. Third, Kobe has become a strong Presbyterian centre with five self-supporting churches and several chapels, which, we hope, will become churches later. The teachers and students all take part in the evangelistic work of the city, and without their help this development could not have taken place. Fourth, a centre of conservative, evangelical thought and teaching has been established. The Presbyterian Church of Japan (NKK) is a conservative body, but a strong radical tendency pervades the Christian community, and we feel that to do its part in counteracting this tendency is no small part of the mission of the Kobe Theological School."

In 1903 Rev. D. A. Murray of the PCUSA mission had opened a theological school in Osaka, twenty miles from Kobe, intended to train workers of lower academic attainment than the students in the other seminaries, with stress on practical training. This school developed into a full-fledged seminary, and in 1927 it was united with our seminary in Kobe under the name of Chuo Theological Seminary. This institution adopted the standards of the two supporting missions and of the NKK as standards of its teaching. It continued until December, 1941.

Early in the century Rev. M. Uemura, who had been teaching in the Meiji Gakuin theological department, opened a seminary of his own, the Shingakusha. All of its professors were Japanese. In the other seminaries the majority of the professors were Japanese. In the late twenties, I believe, the Meiji Gakuin theological department was merged with the Shingakusha to form the Japan Theological Seminary. A few years later the RCUS seminary in Sendai was also merged into this institution, which was the official seminary of the NKK. Upon the formation of the Kyodan this institution became its official seminary, receiving additions to its faculty from other denominational backgrounds. During the past twenty years, principally through Japanese professors rather than the very few missionaries connected with the institution, Barthianism has increasingly dominated the school, though now it is also looking to European and American theologians of more recent fame.

The story of the seminaries in the NKK reflects the problem of liberalism in belief that has long been a very real one in Japan. The teaching and acceptance of the views of Pfleiderer, in particular, at the theological school of Doshisha University in Kyoto led many prominent ministers of the Congregational Church into extreme liberalism. Most noteworthy of these men was Rev. Danjo Ebina, whose views about the person of Christ were practically Unitarian. He was openly opposed by Rev. M. Uemura of the NKK. Ebina's views soon came to characterize a large part of the Congregational Church. This church was strongest in the Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe district, and the quotation above from Dr. H. W. Myers refers to the views being made popular through its influence.

Rev. Paul M. Kanamori, famous for his three-hour sermon, was another Doshisha graduate seriously affected. He gave up the ministry and his faith for years, becoming a government agent connected with social welfare. Upon regaining his faith

in the Bible he became Japan's most effective evangelist. He left the Congregational Church and in his later years joined the Holiness Church.

But liberalism was not confined to the Congregational Church. It appeared in other denominations as well, usually coming through missionaries. Gradually looser views of inspiration and more liberal theological views began to enter the Presbyterian and Reformed seminaries, one result being the establishment of our own seminary in Kobe. The fact that our Mission insisted upon stricter views necessarily increasingly affected our relationship to the NKK, in which views of increasing degrees of latitude were spreading.

In the end the difference in policy between our Mission and that of the PCUSA resulted in the permanent closing of Chuao Seminary in Kobe. We held that should the Missions be forced to withdraw, the doctrinal standards as required by the constitution of the seminary, also our Mission's stand regarding shrine attendance, should be maintained in the seminary after the missions had left. But the PCUSA mission maintained that the school should be turned over to the NKK or one of its presbyteries regardless of these matters. Therefore, in accordance with the terms of agreement between the two missions, it became necessary to dissolve the relationship and close the school. Actually, because of the outbreak of the war, the Japanese government ordered it closed a few months before the time set by the missions. The property in Kobe remained with our Mission, but all except one of the buildings were burned when the city was bombed.

The question of the relationship of the mission to the national church is, of course, always to the fore in every mission field. In the early days in Japan, though the Japanese church was not in any way officially connected with the churches in the United States, ordained missionaries were often members of presbytery without giving up membership in their home church presbyteries. As the NKK grew it became more and more jealous of anything that might have the appearance of domination by foreigners, and agitation began for new limitations governing church-mission relationships. The so-called Plan of Cooperation was adopted by the PCUSA and RCUS missions about 1905. The PCUSA then had two missions in Japan. One voted for and the other against the plan, though the PCUSA Board of Foreign Missions urged its adoption, but the board ruled that both missions should enter the arrangement. Under this plan the "evangelistic work" (all work connected with establishing and building up churches) was to be administered by a joint committee of the NKK presbytery and the mission concerned, with an equal number of members from each body. Any mission conducting its "evangelistic work" and making its decisions regarding it apart from such a joint committee would not be considered a "cooperating mission." The RCA mission and our own believed that the work would be better served by the mission's retaining control over its own evangelistic work, carrying it on, however, with a view to building up the NKK through it. Two general principles were advanced against the Plan of Cooperation: (1) That there is a difference between the function of a mission and of a church, the mission's being primarily to evangelize, and that of the church while evangelizing to carry on all the functions of a church. (2) That to give the native church virtual control over the administration of funds far beyond its own power to raise, and to secure which it has sacrificed nothing, would tend to injure the growth of self-reliance, which should rather be encouraged in every way possible. An arrangement of affiliation was worked out instead and entered by the RCA and our own Mission.

In accordance with the Affiliation Plan we used licensed and ordained men of the NKK. Chapels, churches and their members were to be listed separately from the other churches of the NKK, but would become fully integrated parts of it as they attained the status of self-supporting churches. We continued to use this plan, with occasional modifications, until just before the formation of the Kyodan in 1941.

The circumstance of our break with the Meiji Gakuin theological school for

doctrinal reasons at about the time methods of cooperation were being decided made feeling run high. The Mission was far from unanimous in its action. There is no doubt that fear of doctrinal looseness entering our work if the Plan of Cooperation should be adopted influenced the decision. As time went on and the shrine question came more and more into the foreground, the fact that the NKK did not view this matter as we did also had much to do with the Mission's continuing under the Plan of Affiliation in spite of much pressure to change.

In the Plan of Affiliation there was a clause which the Mission inconsistently adopted, i.e., that it considered the Confession of the NKK sufficient for its Japanese "evangelistic workers". We should therefore have been willing to use any ministers or licentiates of the NKK in our work. Actually we used very few who were not graduates of our own seminary, for we really wanted our workers to hold the faith set forth in the Westminster Standards.

In 1922, in connection with the 50th anniversary of the NKK, a plan for the administration of the "evangelistic work" of the four cooperating missions by a joint committee of sixteen (8 from the NKK and 2 each from the missions) was proposed by the NKK. This was passed by the NKK and the other three missions, but our own was so nearly evenly divided on this that the Executive Committee was requested to allow the Mission to divide, one half working under the Plan of Affiliation and the other under the new plan. The request was not granted, but when the matter was appealed to the General Assembly of 1924 it ruled that the whole Mission should continue under the Plan of Affiliation. In this appeal the doctrinal situation in the NKK and its supporting missions was stressed. Although the new plan was to have gone into effect as soon as three missions ratified it, it was dropped. I still remember Dr. Uemura (who really controlled the NKK)saying soon after, at an informal meeting of some Japanese leaders of the NKK and some members of the four missions, "Moshi awase ni rikutsu ga aru" (There is reason in affiliation).

In 1929 (?) Dr. Speer made a visit to Japan and upon his return to the United States recommended that the PCUSA Japan Mission change over to the "Nevius Plan". The board ordered this done in spite its being known that almost all, if not all, of the members of the PCUSA Japan Mission were opposed to it. Besides, the Nevius Plan was anathema to the NKK leaders. But it was evident that the Plan of Cooperation was not producing results satisfactory to the PCUSA Board of Foreign Missions.

In a few years the NKK made another attempt to get all four missions to work together by proposing the Kyocho Plan. The Plan of Cooperation was the Kyoryoku Plan. If Kyoryoku is translated working together then kyocho should be translated being amicable together. There was no difference in basic principle between this new plan and the Plan of Cooperation, though there was in some details. As Rev. S. Tada, the outstanding leader of the church after Dr. Uemura's death, put it when I asked him in a meeting where the new plan was being discussed to explain the difference between it and the Plan of Cooperation, "Kyoryoku was cooperation, whereas kyocho is amicable cooperation." The other three missions in turn entered this new plan, but our Mission continued under the affiliation agreement.

The problem of National Shinto was undoubtedly the most tremendous one that confronted the Japanese church and the missions during the First Period of Protestant Missions in Japan. It was apparently utterly unanticipated by the early missionaries, who found Shinto largely a superstition of the common people, with no moral effect upon them except for evil, for its vile phallic manifestations were to be seen everywhere. Even the phase of Shinto centered in the sun-goddess as the ancestress of the imperial family had been played down by the sugumate as just the cult of one of the many tutelary deities, lest it be used to exalt the imperial family unduly, and the Buddhism had been made the established religion. Of course, this policy of the shogunate had not really broken the hold of Shinto upon the com-

mom people, but to the early Christians of the samurai class it meant little, and it was not difficult to teach Christians of the lower classes that it was utterly incompatible with worship of the true God.

However, from the beginning of the restoration of power to the emperor, government and Shinto ceremonies were considered united functions under one head. In 1889 the national constitution, and in 1890 the Imperial Rescript on Education, explicitly recognized the mythological imperial ancestors, tracing the state back to them. These were matters of deliberate policy, and forced increasingly upon the Japanese people the ancient doctrine that the emperor is the human manifestation of the divine line and that to him is due reverence and fealty above that demanded by any other being.

The regulation that the Imperial Rescript on Education must be read on the three (later, four) great holidays and at the graduation exercises of all schools having any kind of government recognition and that all must stand with heads reverently bowed while hearing it read, brought Mr. Kanzo Uchimura to the position that he would resign his government college professorship rather than comply and thereby appear to admit that the emperor was in any way divine. Few other Christians stood with him in this. It is interesting that, as he told me himself, he was willing to bow before the imperial portrait as required on the same occasions in schools with full government recognition, because the portrait merely represented his living sovereign, but that to bow before the reading of a document was to admit that the words were those of a superhuman being. (The rescript speaks of the imperial ancestors founding the Japanese empire on a basis broad and everlasting, of the imperial throne as coeval with heaven and earth, and says that the declarations made in the document are true at all times and in all places). Mr. Uchimura's explanation shows the difficulties involved in the system, for such elements as actually went no farther than reverence for a human ruler are legitimate. But where should the line be drawn, or does a line really exist? Practically all Christians bowed at the reading of the rescript, but a few would not bow before the portrait. Almost no one followed Uchimura's position exactly.

Two more elements in the application of National Shinto to the educational system were hard to explain as compatible with Christianity. One was the growing insistence that some reference to the Imperial Rescript on Education be made in the constitution of every school securing any sort of recognition from the Department of Education. This insistence resulted in the incorporation of a clause in the constitution of our Golden Castle School to the effect that the school was founded in order to give a "common higher education" based on Christian principles, in accordance with the Imperial Rescript on Education, before the Mission really knew what had been done. About half of the Mission protested against this, and after some two years of study and discussion, in 1923 the Mission requested the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions to give permission for those who were willing to accept the constitution to conduct the school, relieving those opposed of responsibility for it. This request was granted. I believe that this was not a real solution, both because no one can be relieved of moral responsibility in that way, and because no real decision was reached. It should be said here that the real difference of opinion in the Mission lay in regard to two points: (1) Whether the rescript actually seriously meant all that it said about the empire and the throne and the imperial ancestors, etc., and (2) Whether the interpretation was not legitimate that only the actual precepts in the rescript were referred to in the school's constitution, the rest being left out of consideration. Later events have proved that every word of the rescript was meant in its full sense. But it must be remembered that at that time, no matter how individual members of the Mission might regard the reference to the rescript in the constitution, all were agreed that there could be no compromise with the teachings of Shinto and its observances of worship.

When it came to the final element forced upon schools, i.e., the visiting of

Shinto shrines by teachers and pupils to pay reverence, the Mission stood as a unit, saying that it would never agree to this. The government had already adroitly taken steps to break down objections by Christians to this practice. In 1900 it had declared that the State Shinto system, which included shrines venerating the sun-goddess, imperial ancestors and national heroes, was not religious, and had accordingly transferred administration of them from the Department of Education, which had charge of matters concerning religion, to the Home Department. This made the claim that bowing before shrines was not a religious act more credible. After this preparation had been made, the government through its Department of Education began gradually to require shrine visitation by teachers and pupils of fully recognized schools.

Many Christians were much concerned at first, but those who refused to let their children go to the shrines were few, and Christian teachers who refused to go themselves or take children to them were far fewer. Most of those who refused eventually lost their positions. The NKK in 1917 asked the government to stop requiring shrine attendance by the schools, with no result. But I have before me the Minutes of the 1939 Synod of the NKK in which is printed a document called "Advice to Christians", with the statement that it had been drawn up by a committee appointed for the purpose, and that it was approved by the Synod. Upon inquiry when I first learned of this I was assured that this was a mistake, for the paper had not been adopted. However that may be, it is evident that a very large part of the NKK considered its contents satisfactory. Among the various items of advice is a statement that inasmuch as the shrines are not religious, visiting them has no religious significance but has patriotic and educational value, and therefore does not conflict with Christian faith, but that people who according to popular belief mistakenly think it to be a religious act or to have religious meaning must be corrected in their view. A little before this meeting of Synod, I believe it was, the NCC took action urging Christians to go to the shrines.

About this time Golden Castle College, which had then become an official college of the NKK and was receiving besides the services of four of our missionaries as teachers only a few hundred dollars a year as aid from our Mission, sent a body of students and teachers to a shrine in Nagoya. Rather than compromise on this issue the Mission severed its connection with the college, withdrawing both financial support and the services of our missionaries. Two missionaries then resigned from the Mission in order to continue to teach in the college, but their action is not to be taken as approval of shrine attendance but rather of belief that they should continue to serve the college in spite of the policy it had adopted.

It should be noted here that, so far as I have been able to learn, our Mission (and it had the Executive Committee and the Church behind it) was the only one of the regular denominational missions in Japan (excepting the Seventh Day Adventists who are in a special class) that broke with a school rather than condone shrine attendance. In Korea likewise the Southern Presbyterian Mission alone closed all of its schools rather than yield on this point.

Before leaving this Period a word should be said about Buddhism. Buddhism has been used as the agent of the Shogunate in persecuting Roman Catholic Christianity before the Restoration, but because of its disestablishment after that, when the Protestant missionaries came to Japan the government was no longer behind it in any action it might take against Christianity. The circumstance of its having many sects also prevented strong concerted action. However it was a powerful deterrent to a Japanese's becoming a Christian, for young people in strongly Buddhist families were often disinherited when they became Christians, for example young Toyohiki Kagawa.

But Buddhism had to be and still must be reckoned with, principally because of its beliefs and underlying philosophy which have given a bias to the thinking of

nearly all Japanese. Because it is pantheistic no concept of a personal God who is Creator and Provider seems reasonable, and because in Buddhism there is no personal God any absolute standard of morals or any concept of a holy and righteous God are alike unreasonable. Whatever a man believes, his belief is the great underlying essense believing through one of its manifestations, and therefore all beliefs are equally true. The wheel of life keeps turning, and there is nothing better in store for anyone than the continued succession of life after life in one form or another in this fleeting world, unless by escape out of it all into the bliss of freedom from desire and its lack of fulfillment, in the state of Nirvana or absorption into the infinite nothingness that is at the center of all. Of course this is over-simplification, for each sect teaches its own form of Buddhism. But all agree on claiming to have found a way out of the endless hopeless maze that stretches before, into the characterless bliss of escape.

It is true that few people think through all this, and there is a mass of superstition tied up with this sort of philosophy, yet this is the undertone of Japanese life and thought. It would seem to contradict Shinto, yet if whatever a man believes is true if he only believes it, why can he not believe the whole Shinto fabrication if it is for the good of the nation and of the world? So he will believe it. All Buddhism allows for hoben, the use of falsehood for a good end. This explains how it has been possible for the overwhelmingly majority of Japanese to be Buddhists, and practically all Japanese Shintoists.

So the Christian when faced by the absolutes of Christianity and the Scriptures finds it all too easy to use the thought-processes and assumptions he has inherited from Buddhism and that fill all the thinking around him, but of which he is not fully conscious, to lessen the pressures to which his conscience is subjected as he tries to live by new principles in a world that does not know them.

The resemblance between Buddhist concepts and those of modern evolutionary philosophies and the views that have resulted from the entrance of these philosophies into the thinking of many theologians in the Christian church makes it easy to understand why liberal Christianity has such a large following in Japan. It also shows how easily the presentation of liberal Christianity to the non-Christian Japanese can convince him that Christianity is only the Western form of the basic religious teaching that is current in the Orient as Buddhism, and close his mind to real Christianity if he should ever hear it.

## II. THE KYODAN AND THE WAR

About the time Japan began large scale military operations in China the Diet took up the formulation of the Religious Bodies Law which had been first attempted in 1899 and more than once after that, but had been dropped each time, much to the relief of the Christian churches, which had opposed it for the most part. The purpose of this law was to bring all religious bodies under full control of the government, especially in view of the current need for national unity. As the articles of the law were gradually worked out they were brought for discussion and suggestion to a committee consisting of representatives of the various religions, i.e., Buddhist and Shinto sects, the Protestant NCC, the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church. Some changes suggested by this committee were incorporated in the law. However, more important to the government was the psychological advantage of being able to say, in case there should be later objection, that the law was the result of consultation with the parties concerned. Actually the law did not change the points on which the authorities claimed the right to regulate religious bodies, for Article 28 of the Constitution of Japan had defined the religious liberty of Japanese subjects as existing only insofar as it did not disturb public peace and order or interfere with their duties as subjects. Heretofore Buddhist and Shinto bodies had during the process of history come to be governed by a heterogeneous set of laws, whereas Christianity and some newer Shinto sects were under direct

police supervision. The new law was to put all religious bodies desiring recognition in order that they might not be subject to interference from the police without due process of law, under the same code. In asking to come under its provisions they would thereby be asking the government to grant them a permit to hold their beliefs and maintain their organization, thus recognizing the Government's explicit claim that it had the right to license, supervise and protect religious bodies. Although various kinds of internal organization were permitted, the law demanded that one person be appointed by each religious body, who alone would be considered its head and representative, responsible for the organization and its actions in every way.

The law was passed in 1939, to take final effect in 1941, giving time for religious bodies to make necessary preparations for securing recognition before the deadline. Most of the churches began at once to make application for recognition as denominations under it, but when their applications began to come in, the Religions Bureau of the Department of Education suddenly realized how many tiny organizations there would be to supervise, and so they handed down the arbitrary rule that no application from a body of fewer than 5000 members would be considered. At once the smaller denominations that were fairly closely related began to get together in groups to meet this requirement. Some joined a larger denomination, for example, the Evangelical and United Brethren Churches and the tiny Universalist Church went in with the Congregationalists. Including the larger denominations which remained alone eleven groups or blocs in all were formed. But an order came down saying that each of these was too small, that only one Protestant Church could hope to get recognition. And so the movement for church union was under way almost overnight, with not only government pressure but the urging of all those in the churches who had long been agitating for union, behind it.

There were many difficulties to be resolved, of creed or confession, of church government, of worship and the sacraments and so on. Everything would have to be drawn up, the organization completed and the application in, before the deadline. Otherwise all Protestant churches would be without recognition as religious bodies, doubly subject to police whim because they had not taken their opportunity to get recognition. Although the law technically required a really integrated organization, tacit approval was secured from the authorities for a federal type of union. This was because the NKK and the Lutheran Church insisted upon having a creed. And so the united church was formed as a sort of federation of eleven blocs, each holding to its own creed, internal government, worship, etc. The NKK, at least, when it finally entered the union, had the understanding that the bloc system would be allowed to continue, and it also went on record that whatever creed the new church might eventually adopt it must contain the four Ecumenical Creeds. On the final vote eighteen ministers had their votes in opposition recorded.

Thirty-four denominations (one of them a part of the Episcopal Church) made up the eleven blocs. Rev. Mitsuru Tomita, the first graduate of our Kobe Seminary, who had been chairman of the Protestant group on the committee consulted by the Diet committee when the Religious Bodies Law was being drafted, was elected torisha, or head of the united church. The federal type of organization lasted only one year, the government forcing reorganization by geographical districts in 1942. However, the old denominational ties were strong, and in practice the church was still more of a federation than a unity until after the war.

This new church has from the first been popularly known as the Kyodan. Its full name is Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan, translated Church of Christ in Japan - exactly the same in English as the NKK. In making the law the government coined a new word, kyodah - (religious) teaching organization - to signify church in the sense of a denomination, instead of kyokai - (religious) teaching assembly - which was the term for church in any sense. Christians generally seemed to feel that this change was an unwarranted imposition (although some new denominations since the war have used

the term in their official names), especially as the work kyokai was used in the law for Shinto sects. The word kyodan is now rarely heard except as the term for the Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan.

When war broke out the Kyodan was only a few days old, for recognition had not officially come until late in November. Pressure was on the new church from the first, and its official conformity to National Shinto began. On January 11, 1942, the torisha and another official of the Kyodan visited the shrine of the sun-goddess at Ise and announced the beginning of Kyodan and requested that it might prosper thereafter. Afterwards similar visits were made to the same shrine, and similar acts were performed by some district officials.

On August 10, 1944, the Kyodan official organ carried a notice of required bowing toward the Ise shrine, to be carried out on a national holiday connected with the Emperor's priestly functions in Shinto. The leaders of the Kyodan were required to join with all other religious bodies in regular meetings to discuss ways and means of putting religious motives behind the war effort.

An evangelistic campaign was instituted in the fall of 1944. Among its objectives was the teaching of reverence to God and honor to ancestors, also that the talisman of the shrine of the sun-goddess should be received and treated with respect. Churches were required to have prayers and even special meetings to pray for victory.

In order to present as true a picture as possible of the Kyodan during the war, I have been reading copies of its official organ published during the war. Of course every issue was scrutinized closely by the authorities - the smallest slip could cause a great deal of trouble. Any decision or action or expression not exactly in line with the united drive for victory might be considered traitorous. The pressure and tension is hard for Americans to imagine, though we had both in mild form during the war. If the churches had declined to ask for recognition they would have been in a better position, though probably there would have been many congregations dissolved and much direct persecution. But the churches in uniting to form the Kyodan and so secure recognition were for the most part taking a path of compromise in order to save themselves from possible persecution through the police. It had been made very clear in the law and its official interpretation that religious bodies would be recognized with the distinct understanding that the government had the full right to control them for its own ends (which, of course, could not be really wrong because of the perfection of the Japanese Imperial Rule).

The NCC had already urged Christians to go to the shrines. The justification offered by Christians condoning or urging shrine attendance had always been that of patriotism, because the shrines honored national heroes and imperial ancestors, the first of whom, the sun-goddess, was explained to have been actually, though shrouded in myth, the ancestress of the whole Japanese people. The fifth commandment was often adduced as teaching that ancestors should be reverenced. And so as the torisha increasingly felt the pressure he finally went to the shrine. But he could not merely bow. He was going as the representative of the Kyodan and was expected to make a report and pray for his organization. The Emperor, his messengers and government officials regularly made reports and prayed. A bishop of the Methodist Church had already set the precedent of announcing the program of his denomination for the coming year. If the torisha did not do as much there would be trouble for the whole church, for it would be held fully responsible for his every act or failure to act. It is interesting, however, that in the report of this visit, published prominently in the Kyodan organ, in speaking of the petition made, the regular Chinese ideographs for petition are not used, the first one of which means prayer. Instead, the ideograph for hope was substituted for the first one, the second one, request, remaining unchanged. Since the pronunciation would be the same the censor might attribute the change to a typographical error!

Since the war Mr. Tomita, the torisha has told me that although he could wish it had not been necessary, still he did not consider that he had committed a sin, for he considered the so-called sun-goddess to be an actual ancestress, and the act similar to honoring the graves of his parents and near ancestors. He did not explain how the ancestress could hear his request on behalf of the Kyodan. He added that this act was the way to keep the Christians from persecution and he had to perform it. He also said that near the end of the war the military authorities were planning to demand that belief in God instead of the deities of Japan be given up, and that he and other leaders of the Kyodan had determined to die rather than give up their faith in God. The sudden ending of the war saved them.

Whatever explanations are offered, the fact is that officially the Kyodan acknowledged and gave fealty to National Shinto. Though regret has been expressed since the war for thoughts, prayers and acts against other nations, I have heard of no statement from the Kyodan or its leaders of repentance for this capitulation. The issue is said to be dead, but that is only because the pressure has been removed, not because the church met the issue and conquered it.

Of course, the picture was not all dark. There were ministers, Christians, and congregations that stood firm. I think of one minister in whose church the ceremony of bowing toward the palace was never performed. Another, as soon as the NKK had voted to enter the Kyodan, returned to his church and presented the matter. The church then adopted the Westminster Standards as its own and kept them right through the war, then took part in forming the Reformed Church. The minister, Rev. Minoru Okada, is now president of the Reformed Seminary in Kobe. Near the end of the war he and three other NKK ministers, all of whom are now teaching in the Reformed Seminary, were sent to work in a coal mine in Kyushu, as war-time service. There everyone working in the mine was required to bow before the shrine of the god of the mountain. American prisoners of war and all others bowed except these four men. They were not punished, but other Kyodan ministers working in the mine complained to them that their refusal to bow might put the other Christians in danger because their disobedience might be attributed to all.

The Holiness Church had divided a few years, I believe it was, before the war, and litigation over the property was still going on when its two divisions entered the Kyodan as blocs. In the courts it was discovered that the confession of each contained an article saying that Christ is to come a second time to rule on earth. This was followed up, and both blocs were forced out of the Kyodan and dissolved by the government, and all, I believe, of their ministers were imprisoned. Some died in prison and others suffered greatly. Another small denomination that did not enter the Kyodan suffered the imprisonment of all its leaders. Kyodan leaders considered it their duty to help as much as possible the Christian of the Holiness groups as well as the part of the Episcopal Church that did not enter the union, and they were able to soften the attitude of the authorities more than once, I believe. The fact that the Kyodan was conforming was a sort of guarantee that Christianity was not really an enemy of the government. The Holiness churches did not forget this, and after the war the majority of them returned to the Kyodan.

## III. BEGINNING OF THE SECOND PROTESTANT MISSIONARY PERIOD

The war finally came to an end, after increasingly severe privations followed by the destruction of most of the church buildings in the large cities, as well as the loss of property by burning borne by nearly all living in the cities. All pressures on the Kyodan and on all Christians were removed, but no one knew what the future might hold. Although the Kyodan was officially an integrated unity, actually because of the difficulty of transportation and the regulations against large gatherings during the war, it was a collection of denominations each held together

more by tradition than fellowship, and so that most congregations were entirely on their own. After the war transportation facilities were inadequate for at least two years, so that it was difficult for the administrative machinery of the Kyodan to work effectively. Everyone was in dire poverty and rations were near starvation level. Congregations were depleted - during the last months of the war even the largest city congregations had been reduced to a handful, or even just one or two. The majority of people who had been burned out in the cities were living with relatives in the country, and many church members were temporarily cut off from their churches - some of them never came back. Most ministers had to find work of some kind in order to live, and so were unable to give more than a little time to their churches.

What should be done? Most ministers and congregations found it so hard just to keep going that they were unable to do much more than take each day as it came, concerning themselves little with matters of wider import. Movements for leaving the Kyodan were beginning among those who had strongly opposed the union. Some talked of dissolving the Kyodan, others of making the bloc system official again, still others of some sort of reorganization. Would missionaries return to Japan? How would they act and how would they work if they came? Into this confusion came the Christian Deputation to Japan, in October, 1945, with its message of good-will.

This deputation goes back in its origins to a meeting held at Riverside, California, between eight Christian leaders sent from Japan by the NCC and seventeen persons selected by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America and the Federal Council of Churches. The group from Japan had been sent with the object of trying to get the churches of America to do all in their power to avert war between Japan and America. The Japanese government naturally facilitated this trip as much as it could. At that time the Kyodan had not been organized, but everyone knew that it would soon be an actuality. The deputation, on page 3 of its pamphlet, the Return to Japan, says,

> "The close association of the group at Riverside forged strong bonds of spiritual fellowship that at the closing session were sealed by a solemn covenant of prayer symbolized by a token that was given to each member. The token was a little silver watch charm with the place and date of the Riverside meeting inscribed upon it. Besides the charm, each member was given a prayer calendar for the use of the group in making their common supplication."

I read Japanese reports of this meeting and I was present at a meeting when some of the Japanese delegates made a verbal report after their return to Japan. I think it was in the printed report, though it may have been at this meeting that I heard it, that the statement was made that it was agreed at the Riverside meeting that if missionary work in Japan should have to be terminated for any reason, any missionaries sent out afterwards by the bodies represented by the Americans present at this meeting would be sent to work with the new united church and not to perpetuate the denominations sending them. My recollection also is that it was agreed there that such missionaries would be sent jointly, not as members of denominational missions (as is now done by the ten boards - representing eight churches - working through the Interboard Committee (IEC)). I have hesitated to say this publicly heretofore, for I know that it is easy to let later events enter into recollections of the past. But I have before me a clipping from the New York Times of September 8, 1945, from which I quote:

> "Initial steps toward the re-establishment of contacts between Protestant churches of the United States and Canada and Christians in Japan were taken yesterday at a special meeting of a subcommittee of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America at 156 Fifth Avenue.....

"Altogether, thirteen Protestant denominational foreign mission boards and agencies had agreed upon the former designation to resume their work in Japan in a united Christian program by pooling personnel, resources and administration." (Lutherans and Episcopalians dropped out of the arrangement, and the number of boards cooperating was further lessened by the union of the Evangelical and United Brethren Churches. - WAM)

It will be noted that this meeting in New York was more than a month before the meeting at Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania, mentioned on page 4 of the Return to Japan.

In the Return to Japan it would appear that the great desire for the continuation of the Kyodan was on the side of the Japanese, but it is hardly to be supposed, if one looks at the antecedents and personnel of the deputation, that the deputation suggested consideration of the possibility or advisability of any other course. Very many Japanese believe that the Kyodan has been held together since the war by the mission boards in America rather than by the members of the Kyodan itself, though they all recognize that few leaders of the Kyodan have failed to support it. Certain it is that when I returned to Japan in January, 1947, and let it be known that our Executive Committee of Foreign Missions had not entered the joint arrangement or committed itself to work with the Kyodan, yet was sending missionaries back to Japan, the astonished reply over and over again way, "Why, we were told that no missionary aid from America could be secured except through the Kyodan!" Mr. McAlpine arrived in Yokohama a few days later in January and attended a meeting under Kyodan auspices to welcome new and returning missionaries. The moderator of the Kyodan told this group that no missionary who would not work with the Kyodan would be welcome in Japan.

Apart from the leadership of the Kyodan there was great desire on the part of many to vitalize the denominational groups and either return to the bloc system or dissolve the union. The three largest denominations each had its own society for preserving its fellowship and traditions. These societies did not bear the old denominational names, but their membership and aims showed what they were. Meetings of local sections of each group were held occasionally. Committees of the Cooperative Evangelistic Society (the NKK group) for example, saw to it that vacant NKK pulpits were filled by NKK men, and that NKK men conducted ordination and installation services according to the NKK Book of Church Order. Kyodan leaders and IBC missionaries were apprehensive as to what these groups might do, for they did not die out. For a year I have not been able to follow them, however.

In 1950, I believe, Rev. Rinzo Onomura, a former NKK minister, pastor of the largest church in the Kyodan, in Sapporo, who had been imprisoned for several months during the war because of his strong stand, started a movement to change the organization of the Kyodan so as to allow denominations within it - he invented a name, kaiha, for such groups. Some fourteen former NKK churches in northern Japan joined with him. One of his chief reasons for urging this reorganization was that he and the ministers joining with him were finding it impossible to build up sound Christians and churches under a condition which allowed other kyodan ministers (sent officially on various missions) to come and tell the Christians that this and that belief were not necessary. He also objected to the over-centralization of the Kyodan. Mr. Onomura and his group, in order to present the matter to the whole NKK constituency, invited all former NKK ministers and elders to meet in Tokyo. They also invited all of the ordained members of the four missions formerly cooperating with the NKK, who had been in Japan before the war, to be present. As I remember it, about 200 met together. Mr. McAlpine and I attended this meeting, but the one man from the PCUSA and the one from the RCA had to brave the strong opposition of their groups. No one came from the ERC. The opposition was on the ground that

attending such a meeting would be abetting a move toward weakening the Kyodan.

It was evident at this meeting that during the years members of the old NKK Synod had drifted so far apart that there was no single principle that would be strong enough to draw them back together into a single body again or unite them in supporting Mr. Onomura's proposal. It was also evident, however, that there was great dissatisfaction with the Kyodan. A committee was appointed to study the proposal, and later in the year it was submitted to the Kyodan, which turned it down. Whereupon Mr. Onomura's group withdrew, being joined by churches in other parts of the country.

Reactions to this withdrawal were very interesting. Interviews with leaders of the various denominational groups within the Kyodan were printed in "The Christ Weekly." Several of them, among them Methodists and Baptists (Northern Baptist connection), said in effect, "We are not leaving the Kyodan, but we are going to carry on according to our traditions. If we are told that we cannot do so we will have to withdraw." So the executive committee of the Kyodan modified the action that had been taken, but it was too late to hold the NKK group that had already withdrawn, or to prevent others from joining them. They have formed a church that bears the same name as the NKK of pre-Kyodan days. The new NKK now has over 80 churches and perhaps 10,000 members. Its confession, just adopted, is nearly the same as that of the pre-war NKK, I understand.

During the years since the war group after group has left the Kyodan to organize as separate denominations. Some of these consisted of the denominations that acted as units both in entering and leaving the union, such as the Lutheran, Free Methodist, Wesleyan Methodist and Nazarene Churches. Baptists connected with the Southern Baptist Mission had united with the other Baptists before the Kyodan was formed, but parted from them on leaving the Kyodan. The part of the Episcopal Church that had entered the Kyodan left to unite again with the other Episcopalians. Parts of other denominations left to form new denominations, among these being the churches leaving to make the Reformed Church. This group is of NKK background.

The Kyodan now consists of the Methodists, Congregationalists, and about three fourths of the NKK group, who together account for about three fourths of its total membership. Next come the Evangelical-United Brethren and Disciples groups. All named so far constitute the Japanese denominations with which the ten boards now working through the Interboard Committee were affiliated before the war. The Northern Baptist group in the Kyodan has as its affiliate the Northern Baptist Mission, which works directly with the Kyodan. The remaining groups in the Kyodan are groups that were indigenous from the first or now have no affiliated mission working in Japan. Last of all, there are fragments of almost every group that has left the Kyodan. A few missionaries, among them one small mission, are also related to the Kyodan. Some members of our Mission and other Missions work in local Kyodan churches though they have no relationship to the denomination as a whole. The total membership - according to the latest figures I have.* I have never seen any figures to justify the claim that it has three fourths of the Protestant membership. No account is taken here of the Churchless Group. (*See page 29.)

Early in 1946 the Synod of the Reformed Church in Japan, with two presbyteries, was organized. Steps leading to this were first taken a few weeks after the surrender. Eight ministers and twelve churches with a total of only three or four hundred members came out of the Kyodan to form it. This church has the Westminster Standards but took the name Reformed in order to emphasize the fact that it has the Reformed doctrines. One of its original presbyteries covered our entire field of work. Its ministers are graduates of our seminary in Kobe and are standing for what they had been taught there. One of them, Mr. Okada, was the leader of the group of ministers who wished to carry on our seminary, holding its doctrinal position and our Mission's stand on the shrine question, even if war should come.

When the first members of our Mission returned to Japan in 1947 we found this tiny church in existence. It was really the result of the teaching of our seminary and of our whole pre-war Mission policy. Another pre-war influence upon the ministers of this church, especially in the presbytery in northeast Japan, was Westminster Seminary in Philadelphia, which had early drawn several Japanese as students who had been attracted by Dr. Machen's stand in the PCUSA. This church was the nearest to us in faith and practice, but only a small number of the churches that had owed their existence to our Mission belonged to it. No one knew how other churches would finally align themselves. But we believed that we had an obligation to help all of the churches that had been connected with our work, especially those that had been directly connected with our Mission just before the war, and so in order to carry out this obligation the following policy was worked out, having the approval of the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions in Nashville:

1. In matters of material aid, such as relief and rebuilding churches, help would be given according to the need of each individual or church.

2. Aid in the support of ministers would be given regardless of their denominational affiliation, on four conditions:

(1) That the minister sincerely accept the Shorter Catechism as a statement of his faith.

(2) That he take a clear stand against idolatry in all of its forms, and endeavor to inculcate this attitude in the Christians to whom he ministers.

(3) That he recognize his obligation to evangelize the entire field in which he is located.

(4) That he endeavor to build up the Christians in his charge in faith and Christian living.

3. For the time being no official relationship with any denomination would be entered into.

Soon after this policy was put into operation there were ministers of both the Reformed Church and the Kyodan on our rolls in equal numbers. Now all are in the Reformed Church, largely because any minister committing himself doctrinally as these men had done could not be satisfied in the Kyodan. Retired ministers who had worked for the Mission before the war are being given pensions regardless of present denominational affiliation.

The Reformed Church now has three presbyteries (two in our Mission territory), with about 40 churches, 30 ministers and close to 3000 members** Of the churches that can be considered fruits of our work in Japan, about 20 are in the Kyodan, 20 in the Reformed Church and 5 in the new NKK. This last denomination has recently taken the position that for a period of five years it will not enter into any relationship with missions from abroad. (** See page 29.)

At present, in our informal relationships of work there is no doctrinal problem as regards the Reformed Church. The Kyodan, however, has so many diverse elements, many of them of the most liberal kind, that such problems could easily arise in connection with local churches, though the NKK background is a considerable safeguard in individual cases. It may be that as time goes on more formal relationships will be necessary. The Reformed Church has declared its willingness to cooperate with any mission holding the Reformed faith, but reserves the right to decline to work with any individual member of such a mission if in its judgment he does not hold to it. Whatever relationship is entered into, the autonomy of both Japanese church and the mission should be preserved and the principle of self-

support maintained, it seems to me.

The Shrine problem is an element that enters into church relationships. This issue is by no means dead, though pressure from the government cannot be open, for the new Constitution of Japan gives religious liberty. But Shinto is more popular than ever, and indirect government backing of it occurs. All matters of importance concerning the imperial family or the nation are reported to the sun-goddess at her shrine in Ise. The question of how much Christianity will tolerate or justify Shinto is bound to come to the fore more and more. The Japanese government has had no experience with any other means of unifying the people, and sees no other means that has enough initial hold on the people to be used. If let alone or handled unwisely Communism may well become the principle that unites the nation, though it is not as yet. But with more than a million communist votes cast in the last election, the communist-backed agitation against rearmament (which has much Christian support), and 40% of university students said to be communistic, the possibility of its becoming dominant is great. Add to this the economic needs of Japan which drive her toward trade and closer ties with China. The government cannot afford to give up attempts to renew Shinto's powerful unifying force. So the Church should make it clear that it will not support again any such use of Shinto, or do anything except oppose that idolatrous system with the truth of God.

The Reformed Church has declared unequivocally that idolatry in all of its forms, including Shinto, is incompatible with the Christian faith. So far as I know, it is the only Japanese denomination that has done so. Nothing has been done to clear the Kyodan's record in regard to this, though the present moderator has stated personally that the shrines are incompatible with Christianity. Certainly our Mission can enter into no relationships that might compromise our long-maintained stand on this matter.

We are carrying on evangelistic work in many ways besides that of cooperation with Japanese churches. Nearly every missionary has regular meetings of some kind in his home, and there are numberless opportunities for making the Gospel known. In Kobe and Osaka there are preaching halls with regular services. Seminary students take their turn in evangelistic preaching in these halls. Street preaching and tract distribution are other means used.

Nearly two years ago our work of "newspaper evangelism" was begun. It is centered in Osaka. Advertisements are placed in newspapers and other periodicals inviting people to enroll as students in our correspondence Bible school. A small fee is charged, but in some cases it is reduced or remitted. Students receive a course of lessons giving the way of salvation and helps for Bible study. Examinations are given. In addition to the lesson pamphlets a monthly magazine is sent out in which there are several articles dealing with the Bible and with Christian faith and life, also answers to questions sent in by students. Enrollees are introduced to churches, and contacts made with them in other ways. Personnel to carry on this work is still inadequate, but the possibilities are tremendous.

A year ago our radio work was begun, with monthly, then weekly programs, the broadcasting center being Nagoya until this spring when we switched to Kobe. This work is in its infancy, but tied up with the newspaper evangelism program there is no estimating how many people can be reached and taught. Here in addition to increase in personnel there is need for money to develop this work fully.

Before the war kindergartens were conducted in several of our Mission stations, and were a means not only of instilling the truth of God in the hearts of little children, but of leading many parents also. Since the war one new kindergarten has been started, and several that used to be conducted by the Mission are now run by Japanese churches.

Another special work was among students in government and other schools, and still is. Many students are always glad to attend Bible classes in our homes and are appreciative of almost anything that is done for them. This field should be cultivated more and more, for out of English Bible classes for students have come many of the Christian leaders of Japan.

In regard to theological education we have followed the original position of the Japan Mission, that if possible we should cooperate with an existing institution rather than start a separate one. In January, 1947, the Reformed Church ministers in Kobe, some of whom had taught in Chuo Seminary before the war, started a small class in theology. All of the ministers and a few elders of the Reformed Church became sponsors of this school two or three months later. Mr. McAlpine and I each gave a little instruction in it in 1947-48. Since then I have been the only missionary professor. From the first the Japanese professors' salaries have been paid by the Reformed Church. We have built a plant on a good site of about two acres (one block), at a total cost of about $55,000. This is the Mission's property. The Mission's share of the annual budget goes for operating expenses and upkeep of property. In addition my services are given. Since last year the board of trustees has been elected by the Reformed Church through its presbyteries, two members being from our Mission personnel. We contribute to student support through a committee set up to receive contributions both from the Japanese Church and the Mission.

Scholastically the seminary is superior to Chuo Seminary, for there we received students into the preparatory department of two years upon their graduation from high school. Although we could not raise the standard all the way at once, beginning with last year's entering class we require college graduation or its equivalent for entrance. Of course it is always necessary to receive some special students. Three classes have been graduated, totaling 21 men. Of these 5 are Koreans. The present enrollment is 19, among them 2 Koreans and one Chinese. In addition there are 2 women special students. There are four Japanese professors and three Japanese instructors, also one missionary professor. A missionary of the Reformed Presbyterian Church who has transferred to Japan since having to leave China is giving a course of lectures in English. The Canadian Presbyterian Church makes an annual contribution to the budget and some individual missionaries of other missions have made or secured contributions to it. Although there are two new seminaries in Tokyo, one of them connected with the Independent Board (Bible Presbyterian), that have set out to teach according to the Reformed system, Kobe Reformed Seminary has every prospect of being increasingly recognized as the Presbyterian-Reformed Seminary of Japan for several reasons, among them that it holds the Westminster Standards without modification, has a Japanese faculty of real scholarship, and has behind it a well-integrated Presbyterian church with roots going back as far as the beginning of our work in Japan, and even farther to the first Japanese Protestant church and its founding missionaries. A former professor in Chuo Theological Seminary, now minister in the new NKK, is the head of another seminary of lower grade in Kobe, which is trying to maintain the Reformed standards, but its future is uncertain.

In the general field of education the Japan Mission has greatly expanded its efforts since the war. It will be recalled that our connection with Kinjo College had been broken before the war. The school suffered greatly during the war, but in spite of some compromise it did not abandon the Christian faith. In The Return to Japan, p. 36, the "another educator" referred to is Mr. Ichimura, president of Kinjo College, and the scene of the prayer meeting described on p. 59 is in the building largely paid for by the Woman's Auxiliary Birthday Offering of 1935. After the bombing temporary buildings were put up instead of the frame buildings that had been burned, and the building just mentioned, though not burned because it was concrete, was used as it stood, with a corner torn out by a small bomb. Conversations with Mr. Ichimura after the war showed

that he believed he had been mistaken in regard to shrine visitation, and it was decided to renew aid to the college. Part of another Birthday Offering was given, and other gifts from our Church brought the total to some $90,000, which was used in rebuilding and in helping to provide a site and plant for the college department of the institution. Under one organization are a junior high school, senior high school, night school, junior college and four year college, with a total enrollment of over 3,600 students. There are about 100 full-time members of the faculty, and about the same number who give part of their time. Four of our missionaries are full-time members of the faculty.

When the Kyodan was formed Kinjo College ceased to be a church-owned school, its board of trustees becoming an independent body, but made up of Christians only. It now elects three members of our Mission to serve on this body. Both urgent need for increasing the faculty and the lack of any well-definied principle in regard to the employment of non-Christians resulted, during and after the war, in a great increase in non-Christian members of the faculty. In 1949 the board took action to the effect that thereafter no non-Christian would be employed as a full-time member of the faculty. The effect of this action upon the school was excellent. Now about 85% of the full-time teachers are Christians, though fewer than half of the others are. But each year sees real progress toward the goal of a 100% Christian faculty.

In Kochi for many years the Carrie McMillan Home for girls had been conducted by our Mission and did a notable work. The school was not accredited, but every teacher was a Christian. Upon Miss Annie Dowd's retirement the plant was turned over to Kochi Church, which wished to carry the institution on as a girls' high school. After the war, with the property destroyed, the church was unable to keep it going, and our Mission decided to receive it back. With three missionary teachers and a new plant, it is now a fully accredited girls' senior high school. Its enrollment is small - it should be about 100 in two more years - but its future usefulness seems sure, with its faculty nearly all Christian again (when we took it back there were several non-Christian teachers, of whom only one remains now.)

Before the war the Mission had often talked about having a school for boys on the island of Shikoku (the southwestern part of our field), but the difficulties were so great that it did not get beyond talk. After the war Dr. William Elliott's suggestion that a college for men be started has resulted in the establishment of one at Zentusji. Apart from other advantages, two historical circumstances make the site appropriate for our college. Zentusji is the birthplace of Kobo Daishi, founder of a Buddhist sect, but even more important because he invented the Japanese syllabary (a process like making the alphabet out of Egyptian hieroglyphics) giving the Japanese language a true written expression. Also Zentusji is the location of the prisoner-of-war camp to which the first American POW's were taken in World War II.

This college is unique in several ways. Its faculty is all Christian, and each professor subscribes to the Westminster standards. It insists upon the students doing a satisfactory grade of work throughout the year - not just on examinations. This insistence tends to diminish the number of students and frightens some prospective students away. But people are beginning to realize that the standards announced are being maintained. The great handicap is lack of accreditation in the Japanese educational system, and accreditation is hard to secure because of many arbitrary conditions. But we look forward to the day when this handicap will be removed.

When Shikoku Christian College opened the preparatory department of Kobe Reformed Seminary was closed and its students sent to the college. Most of them are now back at the seminary and others are being prepared at the college for entrance to the seminary. More students will go into other fields of work.

Last year a night school was opened at the college and draws many students. It is proving of great service to the whole community and gives opportunity for teachers in nearby institutions to improve their knowledge of English. Bible is of course taught in this school as well as in all of our schools.

Medical work is a new post-war undertaking for the Japan Mission. There had never been any exploration of the possibility of starting such work before, but the conditions of the occupation made a survey really possible. Not only in the service of people needing medical attention, but in the training of nurses and showing what the practice of medicine by Christians can be it will render needed service. Most of all, it will open many doors for the entrance of the Gospel.

Work among Chinese in Japan has long been needed. Already, this work, begun since the war, has resulted in the establishment of a church which is now considering calling its own pastor, and in giving knowledge of the Gospel to many. The large number of Chinese communists, especially in the school of 1000 pupils for Chinese children conducted by the Chinese community in Kobe, gives a challenge and opportunity to show a better way. With China itself still closed, it is possible that from the Chinese church in Japan there will be raised up many who will later take the Gospel to their homeland.

Although the Japan Mission has no official connection with the matter, we rejoice that an ordained missionary of the Korea Mission is for the present, at least, to work among Koreans in Japan. The best of the Koreans both in and outside of the Korean Church in Japan returned to Korea immediately after the surrender. So the church here was left without competent leaders as it struggled to get on its feet again. The Canadian Presbyterian Mission works with this church, which though started as a union church (Presbyterian and Methodist, with a few Holiness groups), was from the first predominantly Presbyterian and still is. But the Canadian Mission is small and lacks missionaries of long experience in Korea. So the presence of a missionary knowing the Korean church and its life and problems will be of immeasurable value in helping the church organize and do aggressive work. There are perhaps one million Koreans in Japan now, about one-third of them illegally. Much of the strength of the communist movement in Japan is in the Korean community. All that is done to make Christians among them will be of immediate general benefit to the Japanese people as well.

The Korean Church in Japan is having its ministers trained at the Kobe Reformed Seminary, and one Chinese is studying there. Before the war Chuo Seminary trained several dozen men for the ministry of the Korean churches in Japan and Korea.

Although it is not one of the usually recognized forms of missionary work, our Japan Mission is performing a considerable service in conducting a language school in Kobe for its own new missionaries and those of many other missions. For each of the past three years there have been nearly 70 students representing fifteen or more mission boards in attendance. Part of the dormitory of the Kobe Reformed Seminary is used to accommodate the school. It is generally recognized that our school is second to none in the quality of work it is doing.

Although I have gone rather fully into the mission and church situation in postwar Japan, still in order to give a fuller background for discussion of the question of cooperation with various agencies I shall give here a brief summary of post-war conditions and influences. The end of the war found the Japanese people crushed and disillusioned about Japan and its gods. They were so miserable in their poverty, semi-starvation and hopelessness that they either had no strength or heart for anything except managing to maintain existence, or they were ready to try anything that might raise them out of their misery.

Here communism had its innings. Communist political prisoners had been freed, and many self-exiled in Russia had returned, with more coming back among the prisoners returned by the Russians from among those they had taken in Manchuria and Korea in the closing days of the war. No political party was more prominent during the first two or three years, and the occupation even seemed to protect the communist party, for Russia was an ally and taking part in the war crimes trials. Japanese wishing to learn democracy were told by communists that real democracy was to be found only in communism. But disillusionment came with communist acts of violence, and with the failure of the Russians to return more than a fraction of the Japanese prisoners known to have been taken by them. Many who returned soon gave up their feigned communism and told of the sufferings they and other Japanese had undergone. The movement is largely underground now, but it is strong, and no one knows what its potentialities are.

However attractive communism was to some, for most Japanese hope lay in what America had to give. Americans had defeated Japan - Americans, who were not supposed to be able to fight. Americans had rescued the Japanese people from their own military leaders who were willing for Japan's cities to be burned and her economy ruined before they would admit defeat. Under American pressure their emperor had declared to his people that he was not divine, and he had urged them to submit peaceably to the American occupation. What had made America so great? Democracy and Christianity.

So the fad for democracy grew, in ignorance of what it really is. Any license, or violation of rules or conventions by young or old was justified as democracy. Discipline in the schools was almost gone. New freedom of social contact between men and women, especially young people, without any conventions to control it, and the example of the occupation troops to encourage such freedom, was seriously affecting public morals.

And Americans are Christians! Their soldiers professed to be, and their Christianity seemed to have little effect on their morals. Of course there have been many examples of consistent Christian living among occupation personnel, and these have made a deep impression on the people who knew them, but the overall picture was but little changed by them. However, there must be something to Christianity or Christian America could not have won the war! And so people came to the churches out of curiosity and to get what Christianity might offer for the rebuilding of Japan.

In the cities there were few churches left unburned, but wherever Christians met inquirers came. This kept up for several years, and there were many additions to the churches, but no great ingathering such as might have been expected among a people sick of the past and looking for a real change. Others may not agree with my diagnosis of the cause for this symptom, but it seems evident to me that the cause lay in the fact that the Christian Church in Japan was freed of its external shackles through no volition of its own, but by an outside force. Its weakness that allowed compromise and that had been increased by continuing compromise was unchanged. And all too often the only message a church had to give was the unauthoritative gospel of liberalism. The Kyodan has put on nation-wide "evangelistic" campaigns, but most of the sermons and appeals were to urge people to become Christians for the sake of the future of Japan. Seldom did hearers leave a meeting knowing that their sins had been forgiven, and determined to follow Christ in whom they had believed, or even with a sense of sin and need for forgiveness and new life that would drive them to the Christ who had been presented to them. Decisions reported were usually statements that signers wanted to study Christianity for the sake of the future of Japan. There are little-known Japanese preachers who have really preached the Gospel; the big names have usually made the other kind of appeal.

American Christianity has not always done any better. I have mentioned the example of the soldiers of "Christian" America. Whoever may be responsible, in nearly all building operations of the American military forces in Japan, with work done by Japanese contractors, Shinto ceremonies have been carried out in connection with ground-breaking and other stages of construction.

The Japan International Christian University was launched with great fanfare, and with extravagant promises of what America would do for this institution - not always authorized by the American sponsors - the Japanese people were urged to contribute to it. The Bank of Japan farmed the collection work out among banks in the leading cities, and the amount expected from each corporation, business or individual of wealth was communicated to each. The motive presented was to build a great university and to see that Japan did not fall behind America in raising its quota. Japan did not, collections going far beyond the Yen 150,000,000 asked for. But America has so far made only a token payment toward the whole that was promised. The motive of making the university a means of helping to Christianize Japan was not set forth in the campaign.

The Roman Catholics have been making a great bid for Japan since the war, pouring money and workers into the country. They appeal to the eye and to love of ritual, and so do not seem so utterly different from Buddhists as do the Protestants. More and more we are having to answer their teachings and point out the Gospel as opposed to their practices. Before I could finish this paper we landed in Japan, and I am back in my work. Today I received a letter from an enrollee in our correspondence Bible school asking which is right (not better), Roman Catholic or Protestant. We hear this question in various forms continually, and we must answer it clearly.

Perfection is not to be found among the Protestant missions and missionaries in Japan either. There are two very glaring faults present, among many others, which we cannot ignore. These are liberalism, which usually talks much about unity, and sharp divisions, not only between liberal and conservative but between groups that are alike opposed to liberalism. There are far more divisions since the war than there were before. Instead of fewer than 40 Japanese denominations and fewer than 50 missions in pre-war days there are now at least 74 denominations and more than 115 missions. Union did not bring unity, and in addition to the present disunity there is far more ill-will between various groups than existed before the war. In fact, I do not recall any ill-will in those days. There was a general agreement that we did not agree on some matters. But now there is often bitter feeling between those who have left the Kyodan and those who remained in it and between those who are not agreed on how to fight evils that they see in the church. This situation does not help the cause of Christ.

In this post-war situation there is a rather interesting circumstance. Before the war the more liberal mission bodies and missionaries were in the saddle, as well as those with more liberal tendencies in the Japanese churches. But since the war, although the Kyodan, which holds the major part of the liberal elements of Protestantism in Japan today, accounts for two-thirds of the total Protestant membership, the missionaries working with it make up only about one-fourth of the whole Protestant missionary body. At least half (the fastest growing part, too) of the missionary body is made up of people who would be called "extreme fundamentalists". Many of these missionaries are themselves members of denominations whose official agencies support the liberal tendencies in Japan. The motive of building up and conserving a united church has not managed to produce anything like the number of workers that the simple motive of taking the Gospel to a people lost in sin has sent out.

A large part of the conservative missions and missionaries belong to one of two federations (quite recent in origin) corresponding roughly to the National

Association of Evangelicals and the American Council of Churches. Our Mission does not belong to either of these bodies, though most if not all of our missionaries belong to the Federation of Christian Missionaries referred to before.

This is a confused picture. But between united sanction of liberalism and the lack of unity among those who claim strict adherence to the Bible, I believe the former involves much more danger to the spread of the Gospel. In the latter whatever strength there is must be of God, for there is little in the human elements involved that will draw people and hold them. But in the former pride of human speculation and knowledge is bolstered, and in Japan such pride is already very strong. Large numbers of the Japanese are like the Athenians, living to learn something new. The speculations of liberal Christianity appeal to them, and they are confirmed by them in their basic Buddhist idea that all truth is relative and has validity only in its being believed. And Christians receiving such teaching have the nerve of endeavor cut because the authority of the Scripture has been made subject to personal judgment, with positive sanction of teachers in the church. Here are some actual cases bearing on this matter:

1. The Council of Cooperation, made up of members from the Kyodan and from IBC missionaries, is publishing a new commentary on the New Testament. The publisher is the Christian Literature Society, an agency of the NCC (our Mission helped support this agency before the war). In the foreword of each volume it is stated that the commentary is intended to meet the need for a commentary suitable for those new in the faith, as well as for some other classes of readers. This statement is in the name of the literature planning committee of the Council of Cooperation. The volume on Matthew, by a Japanese professor in the theological department of Doshisha University, was published in December, 1950. It says that the passages in that Gospel setting forth the idea that Jesus was born of a virgin were added from fifty to one hundred years after the main body of the book was written. It goes on to explain away every miracle in turn, and of course the resurrection is glossed over. More than a year ago I reported this to a friend who is high in IBC circles, but I received no encouragement from him that anything would be done about it, nor have I heard of anything being done. When such expositions of the Word of God, with the backing of the IBC, the Kyodan and the NCC (not that all in these bodies realize what has been done), are published in their name, are read by new Christians or non-Christians, what effect can be expected? Remember that Buddhist and Shinto religious teaching has provided the reader's fundamental background of thought, and that though many other things may have been added Christianity has not, except for a little initial information in the case of the new Christian. Even older Christians do not have available the vast body of sound Christian literature present in America, or the traditions of Christian family and community, which enable many who have these advantages to recognize the false more readily and to discard it.

2. The Japan International Christian University has no safeguard against a similar situation arising in it. All that is required of trustees and professors is that they shall be active members of evangelical churches. At the meeting to organize the boards of trustees and advisors of this institution the meaning of the term evangelical was explained as really meaning Protestant, but chosen because the latter word might give offence to some. And so if in the future objection is made to the teaching of any professor in the university all he will need to do will be to show evidence that he is an active member of a Protestant church, and the case will be closed - unless something is done beyond the provisions of the constitution.

3. On the train from Yokohama to Kobe the other day, after landing at Yokohama that morning, I talked for some time with a young X-ray therapist. He is the son of a Buddhist priest, and is working in a Tokyo hospital under Christian auspices. He has read the New Testament and learned something of Christianity.

As we talked he showed clearly that his thinking about Christianity was colored principally by four things: (1) A boyhood experience of seeing a sudden bright light (connected with death and the spirit world in Japanese thinking) at the altar of his father's temple at about midnight before a funeral scheduled for the next day. This makes him sure there is life after death. (2) Buddhist teaching, especially of the Zen sect in which he was reared. (3) Kierkegaard's writings. (4) Liberal explanations of the miracles of Jesus - I did not inquire the source, but there was nothing original about them.

I know of nothing that will meet the stark need of Japan in its confusion within the Christian community and without except the Sword of the Spirit, the Word of God, which is written and therefore not subject to the fluctuations of men's, even Christians' opinions. This is what met and stood against the errors of Rome in the days of the Reformation and since. We have a wonderful heritage in the Westminster Standards, which declare that the Supreme Judge in case of any dispute as to teaching is the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture (not in the subjective interpretation of Scripture or even in what the recipient believes is a direct revelation to him through the Holy Spirit). To the Scriptures we are committed as a church, according to our Confession and the vows of our ministers and officers. If there is need for this commitment in America, how much more in Japan where the errors the Reformed standards combated so definitely and successfully in the past are making a bid for the hearts of the people, and where similar and other errors are imbedded in the nation's heritage. Communism is a strong and aggressive enemy of the Gospel in Japan, and against them the same standards stand in direct opposition. It is no accident that communism has arisen in "Christian" nations in a day when the faith of the Reformers is being betrayed, and in which the Protestant churches are becoming ashamed of having the Bible alone as the foundation of all their teaching, belief and practice, and are seeking to base these things on human experience, feeling and reason, with condescending recognition of the Scriptures as a valuable aid from the experience of the past. It is hardly conceivable that such a self-sufficient, God-rejecting system as communism could have arisen and spread far in a day when the final authority of the Scriptures was recognized by all of the Protestant churches. The susceptibility of the intelligentsia of all nations to communist propaganda today bears out this view. They turn to it because they recognize no source of authority in the realms of religion, morality and human relationships; and so experimentation with any kind of principle or abolition of principle is legitimate in their thinking. The answer to Roman Catholicism, communism, Japan's idolatry and every other foe is simply reliance upon the Scriptures alone for every teaching, belief and practice, and unashamed proclamation of this straightforward principle. Such proclamation alone can present a Divinely certain salvation to a people living in danger as a nation and as individuals in this atomic age, in a world divided into two armed camps.

Here is the crux of the question of cooperation. As Christians have we a right to support or cooperate with any group that not only sanctions but actually disseminates teaching that undermines faith in the reliability of the Scriptures, the only sure means of knowledge of the things of God that concern man? If a fountain sends forth sweet water and bitter will the total be anything but bitter? It is comparatively easy to make adjustments between people and groups that recognize the Bible as the final authority, for Scripture alone is the true interpreter of Scripture. But where there is no mutually recognized authority what possibility is there of maintaining a common aim? Our aim is set forth and explained in the Bible. It is stated most clearly in the Great Commission in the last chapter of Matthew, in words that the context declares were spoken by our Lord Jesus Christ after His bodily resurrection from the dead. In this commission our Lord declares that His command is based on the total authority that has been given to Him in heaven and on earth. But if the record is not true and authentic why should we believe that our Lord spoke these words, or that such authority really

was given to Him? And why should we obey the command? But if the record is true we must obey it. Our only source of knowledge about this commission is the Bible, and it is also our only source of knowledge of what it is to be His disciple, and of what He taught. The same written authority tells us that the Gospel consists of things done by Christ according to the Scriptures, the writings. Here is our only authority, "It is written." It can be read and studied. Its form does not change. Its validity is not dependent in any way upon the subjective impression received from it. If this is our authority, how can we lend support to anything that denies or sanctions denial of that authority?

We who hold such a view of the Scripture and Christian doctrine are not alone in refusing cooperation where there is a difference in principle and objective. Any principle of union or cooperation carries with it an excluding principle, defining the persons eligible for inclusion in that union, unless it takes in every person in the world. For example, when Youth for Christ put on an evangelistic campaign in Japan last month (August, 1953), it invited all Christians and churches who would recognize their basis of evangelism to unite with them in the campaign. In the Kyodan there are many pastors, churches, and Christians whose beliefs agree with the simple articles of faith in that basis, and who desired to cooperate in the campaign. But a letter was sent from the Kyodan headquarters to its churches advising them not to do so because Youth for Christ was planning to set up a new denomination in Japan (which is not the case, according to Youth for Christ representatives in Japan). In spite of this several Kyodan churches cooperated. But the incident shows that the fundamental principle of at least one group that insists most strenuously on union and cooperation is not cooperation with all Christians, but of Christians whose way of doing things it likes. I believe it is right to have and insist upon a basis of cooperation. But it is not fair to label as uncooperative Christian groups whose basis of cooperation is different from one's own. Too often the line is drawn against the strait-laced, the fanatical, the narrow, the unscholarly, or those from the wrong side of the railroad tracks, whereas real ecumenicity should include such people and groups just as much as the respectable, long-established groups, provided in all cases they acknowledge the Christ of the Scriptures as their Head.

My belief is that the Church is the body of believers in Christ, of all those who are united to Christ - and to each other - in the mystical union. It already is and always will be one in Him, as our Lord prayed and as I believe His prayer was granted. I believe that we should show this unity to the world in every way possible. But it is inconceivable that any external union or any act performed by Christians unitedly can in itself manifest this eternal spiritual unity that exists between them unless such union or act recognizes and obeys the unchanging written Word which is the source of the Church's knowledge of its Head. Certainly any corporate act that denies any of that written Word or violates it, no matter how many take part in it, will manifest a unity that is centered, not in the Christ of the Scriptures, but in the pride of man's reason and imagination. It can never bring glory to God, nor can the unity it manifests be at all likened to the unity that exists between the Father and the Son.

So in every phase of our work in Japan I believe that our object is to carry out the Great Commission in all of its implications. In personal work, preaching in the pulpit, on the street, over the radio, teaching in church schools, in schools of wider scope, or by correspondence, spreading the truth by means of tracts, periodicals and books, ministering to the physical needs of men, and in all other ways available to us we should be faithful in this. We would unite in this work with all who have the same aim, together always exalting our Lord Jesus Christ as the King whose commands alone we obey, and all of whose commands we teach His disciples to keep. Whether the number we cooperate with is great or small, or whether they are great or despised in the eyes of man, has nothing to do with such cooperation. If the unity manifested is truly in Christ, others of His will be

drawn to join in the manifestation, because they are already in the unity that is being manifested.

At its last annual meeting, held in April, 1953, the Japan Mission adopted the following statement, which is incorporated in the By-Laws of its Constitution:

ARTICLE IX. COOPERATION

Section 1. General Principles

A. We are committed to the proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and to the teaching of Christian truth according to the Reformed system, both because of the doctrinal standards of the Presbyterian Church in the United States and because of the ordination vows of our ministers and elders.

B. We are committed to unswerving opposition to all forms of idolatry, including Shinto ceremonies.

Section 2. We are willing to consider cooperation:

A. In direct evangelism with denominations, churches and pastors whose work is in line with our general principles, to the extent of: 1. Support of evangelists; 2. Purchase of land and building of manses; 3. Theological education.

B. In federated and other cooperative endeavors we are committed to the earnest proclamation of the Gospel, to the extent of: 1. Financial contributions; 2. Representation on Boards and Committees.

My prayer is that in this most confused of mission fields the work of the Presbyterian Church in the United States through its Mission in Japan may be so guided and conducted that every part of it will contribute abundantly to evangelizing the people in Japan and to building up our Lord's Church there in every manifestation of the eternal unity that is in Christ. May we never have any other objective than to carry out faithfully our Lord's command during all the days of work ahead. "And Jesus came and spake unto them saying,

> "All authority is given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, behold, I am with you all the days until the consummation of the age!"

(Signed) W. A. McILWAINE

Completed September 29, 1953, Kobe, Japan

ABBREVIATIONS:

ERC Evangelical and Reformed Church (formerly RCUS)
IBC Inter-Board Committee
NCC National Christian Council
NKK Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai (Church of Christ in Japan - not the Kyodan)
PCUSA Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
RCA Reformed Church in America (Dutch Reformed)
RCUS Reformed Church in the U.S. (German Reformed) - (Later through union became ERC).

* (page 17) - is about 140,000 - about two-thirds of the total Protestant membership. The 1954 Christian Year Book, published in Japanese by the Kirisuto Shimbun (Christ Newspaper) gives the total Protestant membership as 237,380 and of the Kyodan as 128,212, i.e., 54%. The management of this newspaper is by persons in the Kyodan; so the figures are not manipulated against it. Data for these figures are no later than April, 1953.

** (page 18) - Reformed Church statistics for the year ending March 31, 1953, show three presbyteries, 31 churches, 19 chapels, 31 ministers, 9 licentiates, 2,693 members. The licentiates have all been ordained since, making a total of 40 ministers.